/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[799] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/161 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *mate*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *benditu*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapirí, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

167 they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of
175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
174 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
648 in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic
668 movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Paingué" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *municipio* of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911. [102] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[183]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[184]

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[183] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [184] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12-13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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the Cayuá has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vailala Madness, the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the account appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial outlines.

1850-1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD (PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865-1870)

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The present arbitrary division of Cayuá history is particularly evident in this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterised primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began directly to concern the Cayuá of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante* exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750. Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding" operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence. Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established, perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante* families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains. In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers; for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a designation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubtless acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the Cayuá—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of the region.[125]

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

[125] Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauive*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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